

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

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- 621 chief of Tromenguelo almost a century ago. At an unspecified
date Rosario Morales, a Chilean interpreter who spoke fluent
621 Mapuche, is believed to have taken advantage of his govern-
ment connections to acquire title to the 480 hectares that make
526 up Picuta. Nowadays, both Tromenguelo and Picuta have their

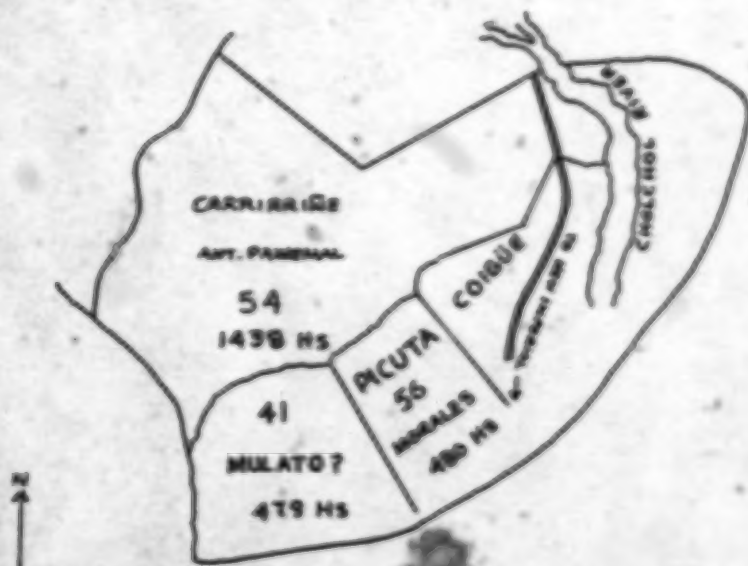


FIG. 7. *Título de Merced* for Carrarrife. Redrawn from the original in the office of the Ministry of Lands and Colonization in Temuco. Parcels 41 and 56, known respectively as Tromenguelo and Picuta, seem to have been given reservation status at the request of former Carrarrife residents.

own chiefs, hockey fields, and prayer grounds, and are regarded as independent reservations.⁹

There are two varying stories of Carrarrife's founding. According to one version it was settled by a band which left Renaco because of overcrowding or on account of a quarrel over

⁹ Somewhat similar divisions or three-in-one situations were reported for other communities, such as Malalche and Tranahuilche.

a woman. According to the other version a large group of Araucanians crossed the Andes from Argentina and settled at Nacimiento, near the upper reaches of the Río Bío, or at Villarica, soon after 1800. Later, one unit went to Renaco while another moved into new territory at Carrarrife. The name most commonly attributed to the latter's first settler is Manqueu who, accompanied by some brothers and other relatives, arrived around 1825. Two of his putative brothers were called Nahuelbual and Collío, and one of his daughters married a Painemal, from whom the reservation's present title holder is descended. One of Manqueu's sons, Paillao Huaiquian, succeeded his father as *lofto*, and founded the Huaiquian branch of the family, which is still important at Carrarrife. One of his first cousins was known as Paineo, and he became the ancestor of another important family.

Today the principal groups at Carrarrife are called Painemal, Huaiquian, Paineo, and Collío. All represent contemporaneous offshoots of Manqueu, the reservation's founder. Nevertheless, these people do not live in complete harmony, and at least three factions can be distinguished: Collío, Painemal, and Huaiquian-Paineo. The most obvious sign of the rift is in respect to hockey fields. These playing grounds are important because they are used not only for sport but also for major rituals. At Carrarrife there are four separate fields. One, associated with the Huaiquian-Paineo group, is the main field and is recognized by all the inhabitants (Fig. 8, near house No. 25, and Pl. XI, Fig. 2). A second field, somewhat more restricted in use, is linked with the Collío family (Fig. 8, near house No. 18), and a third is associated with the Painemals (Fig. 8, near No. 6). Still another schism seems to have occurred in 1948, when Bartolo Gallardo put a new hockey field into use near his own home (Fig. 8, No. 38). Gallardo's action is linked with Carrarrife's dispute over schools.

Approximately twelve years ago Bartolo Gallardo moved to Carrarrife from Tromenguelo because he had inherited some land from his grandfather and because his mother was living in Carrarrife. About 1938 Gallardo was appointed to teach in the

PART II. THE ARAUCANIANS OF
ARGENTINA

INTRODUCTION

114 The history of the Argentine Araucanians has not been written,
175 and scattered information in historical literature now available
does not seem to be in agreement. Two reliable writers, Cooper and
Canals Frau, differ in their summary statements which appear in the
Handbook of South American Indians (Bur. Amer. Ethnol. Bull.
143, vol. 2, 1946). Cooper seems inclined to believe that the Argentine
Araucanians may have come from Chile. He says: "The survival
beyond the 17th century in great numbers of the Chilean *Mapuche*
and *Huilliche*, the severe pressure exerted by the Whites on the
Mapuche and especially on the *Huilliche* in earlier Colonial days, and
scattered historical clues on the 17th-century Chilean *Huilliche* and
Pehuenche raids or intrusions into the Argentine Pampa, all suggest,
without however proving, that the bulk of the Argentine *Araucanians*
stem from the Chilean *Mapuche* and *Huilliche*, especially the latter"
(p. 694). Canals Frau infers from his sources that the Argen-
tine Araucanians are Araucanized Indians whose habitat was the
valleys on the eastern slopes of the Cordillera and the plains east of
these slopes (pp. 761-766).

173 My informants added little to clarify matters. Typical of their
619 varying statements are the following. One old Argentine informant
said, "We [Argentine and Chilean Araucanians] belong to the same
big family. Formerly the Araucanians that now live in Chile lived
here, and we were exactly alike; but now we differ a little: the
Chilean Araucanians live as it is best to live in Chile and we live here
like the Argentines do. Their language in Chile differs a little from
ours, but we can understand them, and they understand us." Another
old informant believed, from what he had heard old people say, that
the Argentine Araucanians originated in Chile and crossed through the
Andean passes into what is now Argentina in order to put up a supply
of jerked guanaco, deer, and rhea. Old people had said that when
this was done, most of them returned to Chile, but some re-
mained and settled down in what is now Argentina. Quoting another
informant: "My great-grandfather was the cacique where Ketchu-
quina area is today; that was when the great malón took place [Gen-
eral Roca's 1879 campaign]. When the malón was on, he took all his

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619 people with him and fled to Chile. Later he moved his people back across the Cordillera and settled them in what today is called Trumpeul. When one goes to a place where one is not born and accustoms himself to that place and likes it there, he is said to be himke. We say that of ourselves here in Argentina today. But that is not because we were once in Chile and are now in Argentina; it is because we do not live where we were born. I set no value in anyone wanting to know where we came from!"

Domingo Huenun (70 years old), Chilean Araucanian of Panguipulli, had heard old people say when he himself was still young that there had always been Araucanians on both sides of the Andes; in fact, they had never thought of the Andes as separating them. "That came only after they drew the boundary line between Chile and Argentina," he added. These same old people spoke of the many passes over the Andes; along the shores of lakes and rivers, and said that they had always existed; that some of them were being used by Chileans today. These passes were traveled on foot or on horseback. Such passes used by Chileans today, he noted, were one from Panguipulli to Reilmeco to Carango and into the Cordillera; one from Villarrica to Pucón to Trancura (over the Divide) to Lanin and Huechalaquén; another from Calafquén to Cofaripe to Pelaiya to Carrirringue (over the Divide) to Paimun; another by way of Pilmáiquén, "which is in the south of Chile and is now a well-built public road to Argentina." Emederio Ramkeful, an Argentine Araucanian, told of another pass between Villarrica and Argentina which led in Argentina from Malleo to Mallin Grande to Adraiko to Aukapán to Chinquihuen, and then across the Divide into Chile.

Domingo Huenun also pointed out that some Araucanian names had always been known as Argentine Araucanian names and others as Chilean Araucanian. He looked at the Argentine list of informants (in 1952) and remarked that Cheokipan was such an Argentine name; and that Cayún, Namunkurá, Kolupun, Quinchawal, Lefin, and Ramkeful were Chilean names.

175 A historic event often referred to by Argentine Araucanian informants is the final conquest of the Araucanians by the Argentine army in the 1879 campaign of General Roca. It is spoken of as the great attack upon them or the great malón, a malón being defined as a surprise attack by either Whites or Indians in which men were massacred, women and children kidnaped, and animals stolen. The period following 1879 is spoken of as "when the military settled here," or "when the barracks were established here," or "after the soldiers took over."

Death and Fertility Rites

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velat más (velat: velorio or wake; más: night), lasts at least four days and nights. Its termination at the end of this ritually auspicious number of days tends to coincide with the arrival of the last relatives who live some distance away. Awaiting the distant relatives is often given as the reason for the delayed burial, but, particularly in instances where some members of the deceased's family are anxious to get the body into the ground, "like the Catholics," this represents the opinion of few Mapuche. For the vast majority, the reason for the delay in final burial is stated differently. The body is displayed in an approximation to what present-day Mapuche consider the traditional manner, because in this way they are able to accord it the respect prescribed by *admapu*. Although on display, the corpse is kept isolated, insofar as it is not touched by the viewers. It is dangerous. This is common knowledge. It is preserved in state for the ritually perfect number of four days (if possible) because by doing so the well-being of the living as well as the dead tends to be insured. The notion of "curing" or "sustaining" the spirit of the deceased shows that this ritual delay in burial is a necessary procedure during the transitional period in which the newly released spirit is in danger of falling prey to the forces of evil.

There is some evidence that the Mapuche formerly practiced urn burial (cf. Cooper 1946: 734 ff., and bibliography), and that this custom later gave way to preserving not only the bones but the entire eviscerated corpse through smoking. Present-day informants know nothing of urn burial or of special treatment of the deceased's bones, although they are aware that their remote ancestors interred the bones of their dead in urns, having discovered these ancient burial receptacles while plowing their fields and so forth. The practice of smoking the corpse and wrapping it in an ox or horse skin is part of the oral tradition, the few cases which occur today representing a disintegrating tradition (which is dubious) and eliciting sorrowful remarks from a few elders. Regardless of whether or not the corpse is actually handled in a way which distinguishes the Mapuche wake from the Chilean *velorio*, there is still a decidedly different emphasis in the concern which the Mapuche have about the state of the corpse. The spirit does not immedi-

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164 toldos and took the road leading to Patagones; but our toldos and another remained behind on account of the confirmed illness of Graviol and the others. Towards evening
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755 of the same day we suddenly heard shouts and cries in the toldos of Foyel, and all except Casimiro, who sat quite still by the fireside, rushed to seize their arms, naturally thinking that a party had arrived to fight from Las Manzanas. After a little suspense we observed a line of men advancing towards our toldos on foot, shouting, firing, and brandishing their arms. Casimiro, who was having a quiet laugh at us, then explained that they were only fighting the sickness. The party advanced to our toldo, beating the back of it with their lances, to scare away the Gualicho, and then retired.

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173 We all had a good laugh over this affair; and I was amused to hear Mefia, who was an intelligent youth, arguing that the Indians were quite right, as sickness never attacked an armed man.

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431 We lived chiefly on air the last four days of our stay in Geylum, as no hunting was done; but Foyel, after learning our wants, came to the rescue, presenting me with a couple of sheep, which I received with gratitude, and divided amongst the party.

000 "It had been intended that this party should accompany the Tehuelches to Patagones, but as it would be necessary to leave their women and children in Geylum with only a few boys to take care of the flocks and herds, and they were not confident as to the pacific intentions of the Manzanos, he and Quintinual considered it more advisable to remain for the present in their camp, and afterwards, by riding in fast, to overtake our party en route previous to their arrival in the settlements.

I bid an affectionate adieu to Miss Foyel, who had always shown me the greatest kindness, and the natural grace of whose manners would have adorned a civilized drawing-room. Her parting words were an invitation to return if